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THE WHIGS APPEAL TO THE TORIES.

IN A

LETTER

To Sir *T*—— *H*——.

WITH A

POSTSCRIPT

CONCERNING

The Proceedings in P——t.

LONDON:

Printed for *S. Popping* at the Raven in *Pater-Noster-Row.* 1711.

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To Sir T--- H----.

SIR,

AS all Partys are reconcil'd in the Opinion, that you are a Man of Honour and Merit, and whatever Side you are engag'd on will never do any thing againſt the Intereſt of your Country, ſo I take the Liberty by you, Sir, to addreſs my ſelf to all the Honeſt *Tories* in *England*, particularly thoſe who at this important Juncture, have the Fate of *Great Britain* in their hands, and by a Vote may make us happy or miſerable for ever. According to the preſent Humour of theſe unhappy Times, Sides are now diſtinguiſh'd by Peace and War, as they us'd to be by Proteſtant and Papiſt, Church and Fanatick, Court Party and Country, *&c.* So that ſhould I declare my ſelf againſt the Peace, that alone would determine me to be a Whig; tho in all other matters the Torys and I are of a Mind, that is, for Monarchy, Epiſcopacy, the Prerogative of the Crown, and only the juſt Liberties of the People; but becauſe I am an utter Enemy to *France*, while ſhe uſurps any Part of the *Spaniſh* Monarchy, therefore, and for no other Reaſon, am I a

Whig,

Whig, and consequently expos'd to all the Inconveniences which attend that *clamorous and ruin'd Party.* As such a one, amidst the R in that we feel and fear, I apply to my brave Countrymen, who have more than once sav'd us from the Destruction that threaten'd us, and who have it now, more than ever, in their Power to acquire the immortal Glory of Patriots.

England has not been in any imminent Danger since the Restauration, but she has been deliver'd by the *Tories.* It was the Long-Parliament that put a Stop to King *Charles*'s destructive League with *France,* and engag'd him to enter into an offensive and defensive one with *Holland.* 'Twas the same Parliament who address'd his Majesty *To make no Treaty of Peace with* France, *whereby the* French *King should be left in Possession of any greater Power or Dominion than was left him by the* Pyrenean *Treaty.* Now if the *French* King is left in Possession of *St. Omer, Bergh St. Wynox, Luxemburgh, Cambray, Condé, Valenciennes, St. Guislain, Namur, Binch, Charleroy, Ipres, La Quesnoy, Newport, Dixmuyde, Furnes, Cassel, Bavay, Maubeuge,* and other Places taken from the *Spaniards* in the *Netherlands,* or not restor'd to them pursuant to that Treaty: as also of *Traerbach,* of *Saar Louis,* and the Forts on that Side of the County of *Cerdagne,* on the Side of *Roussillon, Puicerda, Roses, Cap de Quers, Seau d' Urgel,* of the County of *Carolois* and the *French*

County; of *St. Amour*, *Bleverans*, and *Joux*, in the County of *Burgundy*; of *Nice*, *Villa Franca*, on the Side of *Piedmont*, of what he holds in *Lorrain*, or of that Duke's, in the Three Biſhopricks of *Metz*, *Toul*, and *Verdun*, of *Fribargh*, *Briſac*, *Fort Louis*, *Stratsburgh*, *Hunningen*, and other Places on the Side of *Germany*: In a word, if he is left in Poſſeſſion of any Part of the Dominions belonging to the Crown of *Spain*, which were ſo ſolemnly renounc'd by him in that Treaty, we ſhall give him more, in the worſt Circumſtances *France* has been in ſince the Battel of *St. Quintin*, than that honeſt Tory Parliament would have given him when he was in the Height of his Power, and bid fair for the Univerſal Empire. Are not the Reaſons of this wiſe Repreſentative made more powerful by the Condition we are in to compel him to our own Terms? And may we not hope, that his Grace the Duke of *Leeds*, who ever was an Enemy to *French* Councils, and was at that Time at the Head of thoſe of *England*, will, by his Example, animate all the Noble Peers of *Great Britain* to reject any Propoſals offer'd by *France*, contrary to an Addreſs of Parliament in the worſt of Times. It was that Houſe of Commons who came to this bold Reſolution: That *if his Majeſty thought fit to declare War with* France, *they would always be ready to aſſiſt him; Otherwiſe, they would take into their Conſideration the ſpeedy Diſbanding of his Army.*

my. What they did afterwards for the Preſervation of the Proteſtant Religion, by proſecuting the Popiſh Plot, is ſo well known, it needs no repeating: 'Tis ſufficient to mention that it carry'd them as far as an *Excluſion Bill*, and that end d in their Deſolution, after they had ſat almoſt Eighteen Years. Sir *Edward Seymour* was ſo warm in all theſe Matters, that when the next Parliament met, his Majeſty thrice rejected him for Speaker. Let the following Five or Six Years of that Reign be forgotten on both Sides. Both were bubbled by the Papiſts and made uſe of alternatively to deſtroy one another. Both have been their Tools; but let us be ſo no more. When our own Liberty and the Liberties of *Europe* are in Danger from the Artifices of *France*, it is time for all ſuch as have a Concern for them to unite againſt the Common Enemy and his Adherents.

The Whigs have boaſted much of their Zeal for the Publick Welfare, and would engroſs that Merit, forgetting what the Tories have always done when they thought there was any juſt Grounds for our Fears, and how we have all been ſav'd by them; when nothing elſe could have ſav'd us but their Courage and Vertue. The *Whigs* have been bold when Dangers have been diſtant. The Tories in the midſt of the worſt, and will they now give up the Glory they have ſo juſtly acquir'd: Now when our Dangers come only from a Conquer'd Enemy, and

we have a Prince to protect us, whose Affections to her People will encline her always to embrace those Councils that are most for their Safety, who has no Interest but theirs, and is the Guardian and Ornament of the Protestant Religion. It is in most of our Memories how near we were to Popery and Slavery, when King *James* the Second had crush'd the two Rebellions in *England* and *Scotland*, when he was flush'd with Victory, warm'd by Zeal, and enflam'd by Revenge. Could the Whigs have then given a Check to his Arbitrary Government? Would they not willingly have compounded for a precarious Enjoyment of their Lives and Estates? Were they so daring as to think of Liberty, or to oppose the Incroachments of a Popish King? Yet the Parliament, who were then sitting, address'd his Majesty, and told him, his *Popish Officers could not by Law be capable of their Employments, that the Continuance of them would be taken to be a dispensing with that Law, the Consequence of which was of the greatest Concern, to the Rights of all his Majesty's Subjects, and the Security of their Religion*, &c. 'Twas then almost Treason to talk of *Subjects Rights*; and the King answer'd them, that he *did not expect such an Address from them*. It was this Parliament, as much Tory as it was, and never was one more so, that refus'd to reverse the Attainder of the Lord *Stafford*, neither would they ever consent to the two first *Projects of the*

Court,

Court, the Perſecution of Diſſenters and the extinguiſhing, the Belief of the Popiſh Plot; for which King *James* grew weary of 'em, and ſoon after diſſolv'd 'em. What a Stand the Tories made afterwards againſt Arbitrary Power we can never forget. The Revolution was almoſt entirely owing to them; and tho ſome hot deſigning Men have been out of Humour with it ſince, the Bulk of that Party maintain their Integrity, and at the ſame time that they abhor licencious Principles of Government are for the Dignity and Prerogative of the Crown, for no no more Changes in the Succeſſion, than are of the laſt neceſſity, yet they have ever ſhewn a due Regard to the Liberties of the People, and a Veneration for the memory of King *William*, who ſecur'd them chiefly by their Aſſiſtance and Councils. Intriguing and Tricking Men have been found in all Times, who to mend their decay'd Fortunes, to flatter their Ambition, or ſatiate their Revenge, have inven-ed plauſible Pretences to engage the Well-meaning and unwary. By theſe means Party's were kept up all that King's Reign, and *France* found ways to feed and foment our Animoſities. Hard Names ſharpen Men's Tempers againſt one another, and our Enemy has not fail'd to make his Advantage of our Folly. Is it not Time that our Eyes ſhou'd be open, and ſurely we ſhall never be *Dupes*

to him in the Cabinet, whom we have beaten out of the Field. If the Tory's will exert themſelves at this Conjuncture, and by vigorous Reſolutions throw him back to his late Deſpair, their's will indeed be the Conqueſt of *France*, and *Europe* will owe her Liberty to the Firmneſs and Honour of the *Britiſh* Parliament. Alas! 'tis plain that the Whigs can do nothing. How can they approach her Majeſty with their moſt dutiful Counſels? Far be it from any good Subject to invade the leaſt Branch of her Royal Prerogative; Peace and War are her's. We own ſhe has gone thro the War with more Glory than ever King or Queen of *England*, or any other Nation cou'd boaſt of in a much longer Period. May not we wiſh that the End of it may be as glorious? and that cannot be but by an Honourable Peace, which we cannot have, but by keeping firm to our Alliances, and gaining what we fought for. Do not we all know, how Unanimous the Tory's were in their late Addreſſes for the Houſe of *Hannover*, and ſhall not his Electoral Highneſſes Concern for us, prevail on us to be concern'd for Him, for the Securing the Succeſſion to his moſt Serene Family, and vindicating the Honour of the Nation for the Indignity the *French* King put on us, in owning that outlaw'd *Creature* of his, the Pretender, as our King. You are to adviſe her Majeſty

and

and not direct her, but ſince out of her Royal goodneſs ſhe always has been Graciouſly pleas'd to follow the advices of her Loyal Parliaments, we cannot have ſo impious a Thought, as that ſhe will not do it, in this ſo important an Affair, wherein her Majeſty's Honour, as Dear to all good *Britains* as their own Rights and Liberties, is ſo highly intereſted. To ſay we cannot carry on the War, is to make wretched Politicians of us, and that we cannot do with Trade and Victory, what *France* does with Indigence and Defeats. To ſay the Landed Intereſt is moſt loaded is as groundleſs, Land has never rais'd above a third Part of the Charge, and the War has kept its Product at twice the Price, nor were Rents ever ſo well paid in the boaſted Times of Peace. Are we in a worſe Condition than when Monſieur *de Torcy* was at the *Hague*, or did the *French* King ever think of *Spain*, till he was almoſt in Deſpair for *France*? Theſe, Sir, are conſiderations your own known Diſcernment will eaſily improve, and for God's ſake let us not trifle about petty Matters, when our All is at Stake. What ſhall us do for the Safety and Honour of the Church; for the Intereſt and Character of the Clergy, let it be done, let Fanaticiſm and Hereſy Languiſh under a Cruel Indulgence, and let the Church have all ſhe can Demand for the preſerving, and you pleaſe for enlarging her Prero-

gatives,

gatives, but let *France* be humbled, and the *French* King not only reduc'd to his due Bounds, but be incapacitated for Tranſgreſſing them again. Chearfully will we pay whatever you lay upon us, nor will we be afraid of ill Management of the Publick Treaſure, or Weakneſs, or Corruption in the Adminiſtration, but joyn all to make her Majeſty's Government as eaſy as it is glorious. 'Tis in you to conſider, what his Electoral Highneſs has already repreſented, and from her Majeſty's Piety and Wiſdom, we may hope for a quick Deliverance from the Suſpence that all *Europe* is in by ſome ſteps that have been taken. Thus will Poſterity owe to the Generous and Honeſt Tory's the Invaluable Bleſſings of Religion and Liberty, which will be in as great Danger as ever, if *Spain* be given to a *French* Prince, who early declar'd his good Will to the Pretender he left behind in *France*. You may ſee, Sir, what you and all Men of diſintereſt and worth are to expect from the Inſolence of a Mercenary Faction by the Affront put on a very Noble Lord in *Roper's* Poſt-boy of the 6th Inſtant, The firſt Advertiſement in his Infamous Scroll, alluding to a Wiſe Peers generous Reſolution to Vote for the Continuance of this juſt and neceſſary War, till we have oblig'd *France* to give up her Uſurp'd Acquiſitions in *Spain* and the *Indies*. For this is that Honourable Perſon repreſented as

an

an Apoſtate from the Church, that Faction having dexterouſly interwoven their own baſe and paltry Intereſt with the pure and Sacred one of the Church. A name every good *Engliſhman* has in the higheſt Veneration, and will always be zealous for the Defence of her Orthodox Conſtitution. But it has of late been Scandalouſly abus'd by the moſt flagitious Hypocrites, and proſtitute to the vile ends of Men of the Lewdeſt and moſt abandon'd Characters. How, can *France* ſerve our Proteſtant Church but as ſhe has done her own? Is not the Pretender likely to make a rare Defender of our Faith? What, and whoſe are the Views that have produc'd this ſudden Friendſhip between us and the *French*? Let that be well weigh'd. Her Majeſty never declar'd her Royal Pleaſure in this matter to her People. We muſt all ſubmit to that; our Duty, our Gratitude oblige us to it, in return for ſo gracious and ſo happy a Government. But may we not expoſtulate with our Fellow Subjects, why things are ſo much worſe with us now than they were two or three Years ago? Why our Credit is not yet ſo well reſtor'd as we could wiſh? Why our Reputation does not ſhine in *Europe* as it did then? and we who were the Terrour of our Enemies, are on a ſudden become their *Hope* and their *Joy*. Her Majeſty's Glory and the Honour of this Nation, are worthy of the Protection of the moſt Loyal and moſt noble Patriots. The Whigs can

only

only do it with their Prayers; Confound them with generosity, and lay an Obligation on them, which they must be worse than *Abel* Paints them, if they ever forget. That will be the best way to put an end to the odious names of Whig and Tory; it will make us all good *Britons* and good Subjects, and then we shall have no Distinction among us, but that of Enemies or Friends to *France*. I write to you as to a Friend to *England*, and an Enemy to him that is not. As is

8*th* of *Dec.* 1711. *Your, &c.*

POSTSCRIPT.

IT will be perceiv'd by the Subject and occasion of this Letter, that it was intended to you before last nights Vote, and the memorable Resolution of the Lords, who have in all Times been so jealous of the Honour of this Nation, and given us so much Reason to rejoyce at that most Honourable part of our Constitution. And we have no reason to doubt, but that you and all true *Englishmen* will consider not only the Justice of their Resolutions, but the great Inconveniences that must arise from a Division at Home, whereby all our Allies will be left in perpetual Doubts and Fears, and the Progress of her Majesty's and their Victories meet with Discouragements; which will Spirit the Common Enemy, and make him hope from his *Tricks* and *Chicanes*, what he despairs from

from his Arms. —— It is certainly the undoubted Prerogative of the Crown, to resolve on all matters of Peace and War, and to direct her Majesty's Royal Wisdom, may seem unbecoming the Obedience that we are Taught; but since she has communicated the Advances to Peace to her Parliament, it appears by that she will in a great measure be influenc'd by their Faithful and Humble Advice. The Lords have given theirs with more Plainness; the Commons with more Reserve. The one have nam'd the *Exclusion of the House of* Bourbon *from* Spain *and the* Indies, the other have not nam'd it. Room enough is left for a happy conclusion of this Important Debate, and the zeal of the Commons to carry on the War with Vigour, will facilitate a just, good, and lasting Peace, as much as the boldest Resolutions, which serve however to encourage our Friends, and to dishearten our Enemies, who can have no Heart in any thing but our Factions and Animosities. Those noble Lords who bravely broke thro long Prejudices to declare freely for the House of *Austria* and the Safety of *Europe*, deserve the Highest Acknowledgments from all that wish their Country well, and their Fame will be Immortal. His especially, who so nobly distinguish'd his zeal in the Common Cause, whose weight turn'd the Scale, and as it ever has been and ever will be on the side of *the Church*, it can no more be pretended that to be for such or for such, is to be for the *Church*. Her brightest Ornaments,

Her

Her boldeſt Champions and moſt Dutiful Sons have eſpous'd that Cauſe to which they have been repreſented Enemies, and we have all the Reaſon in the World to hope, that by their Example her name will be no longer made uſe of to promote the Deſigns of crafty and ambitious Men, nor will the Whigs dare to charge her with betraying our own Liberties, or the Liberties of *Europe*, ſince the Higheſt Churchmen have prov'd the beſt *Engliſhmen*; and now it can no more be a Term of Reproach, what a fair Opportunity is given to all True Churchmen to put an end to that hateful Diſtinction for ever, by joyning heartily againſt *France* and the Pretender, and rejecting all Offers of Peace that do not make *Europe* ſafe from the one, and *England* from the other. Aſſoon as that is effected, we have no more occaſion of War. Till then Peace can be no Bleſſing, and tho it is charg'd upon ſome Perſons that they deſire War, becauſe War is neceſſary for them, Is it not eaſy to turn that Argument? and is there any thing really more in this Diſpute, that may prevent a good Underſtanding between Lords and Commons, which is the only way to a ſafe and an honourable Peace, and without theſe Epithets I deſire never to hear it nam'd.

There's nothing that ſurprizes me more in the Tranſactions I have ſeen, than that Men of Good Eſtates, Merit and Capacity ſhou'd ſo blindly give themſelves up to a Party for the ſake even of their Inferiors, as not to make uſe of their Reaſon or their Senſes. Wou'd

not

not one think there was Witchcraft in it? When I see Men of contemptible Parts and Fortunes leading others of great Worth and Interest in the World, what can I impute it to but Infatuation? You can never be impos'd on by the specious Pretences which may deceive such as think there is no Honesty but in Ignorance, no Loyalty but in Slavery, no Religion but in Bigotry, no Wealth but in Dirt, and no Virtue but in *October*. The Judgment of Politicians of this Size will gain little upon Persons of Sense and Penetration; But your's and that of Men of your Abilities and Honour, will always engage us to pay an Homage to it. Is it not dangerous then for Passion, or Prejudice to mingle with it, and will it not cloud the brightest Reason, and hinder the Operations of a sound Mind, and clear Understanding. Pique is a poor Sentiment of the Soul, and beneath one that has the good of Mankind for its object; because I have been disoblig'd by this Man or neglected by that; Shall I Sacrifice the Welfare of Millions? What a Terrible Revenge shall I take, and what an unjust, if I carry my Resentments to the Future, and make all Posterity miserable, because one Man in this Age did not serve me, nor another love, yet how much of this will be found in the mighty Controversies of our Times, and how much do our Affections to Men direct us in our Opinion of Things? Who will examine his own Heart, and speak plain on this Subject. As for my own Part I have done it,

and